THE New Republic

Where's George?

–The '59 Budget

An Editorial

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BIG SCIENCE

The Megabuck Era

By NORBERT WIENER

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Bertrand Russell Proposes Terms for Negotiating with the Russians

JANUARY 27, 1958

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Washington Wire

Recession-as-Planned

THE 1957-58 RECESSION wasn't necessary. It was forced by the mistaken or deliberate policy of the Federal Reserve Board, led by chairman William M. Martin. There is some evidence the recession was planned to soften up union wage demands by creating unemployment. Martin kept the anti-inflation brake of high interest rates ("tight money") on too long against all warnings of reputable economists. Administration economists repudiated Martin's policy last week in a carefully calculated leak, and put the blame on the "Fed."

Martin thought he let the brakes up too soon in the '54 recession. He swore not to repeat. Even as late as mid-August he testified that the economy was "bursting at the seams" (when the down spiral was in full sight). He said he didn't want a recession but that "somebody has to take a loss." Was additional plant idleness desirable? He replied, "Well, that is the only way you are going to get the readjustment."

He was backed by the Administration. The then-Treasury Secretary George Humphrey publicly supported him. Eisenhower thrice asked consumers to "buy less." Business backing for putting labor in its place found expression in an unguarded comment by *Time* magazine three weeks ago: "Many businessmen received the dip at year's end without alarm because they regarded it as 'a recession as planned'."

And so we have a recession-as-planned. We'll be lucky to control it, now that it's here. Unemployment is spreading; productivity is off by billions. Harvard economist Sumner Slichter (a Republican) summed it up: "The contraction is unnecessary and responsibility for it must rest heavily upon the Federal government and particularly upon the Federal Reserve."

The Eisenhower budget terrifies Republican Congressmen. They are up for re-election this fall. They are already endangered by Sputnik and slump. Now the budget proposes to cut back farm aid, water resources development for the arid West, housing, education and dozens of social welfare projects including aid for the aged and the blind. A curiosity is that Eisenhower did not try to roll back the New Deal when he took office. The GOP Old Guard would have hailed it then. Now any analysis of the budget shows it to be the most conservative in his five years. Eisenhower liberals can't accept it. The GOP Old Guard, too, is alienated by proposed farm and reclamation cuts.

Trying to be realistic in appraisal seems rash, but here goes. The budget red ink this year (ending June 30) won't be "$400 million" as Eisenhower forecasts; it will be twice that. There won't be a "surplus" next year of $466 million; there will be a $2 billion deficit. The revolt by Republicans in Congress will be almost complete: the word has already gone out to the GOP, "It's every man for himself." And at next fall's election the Democrats will capture anywhere from 50 to 100 seats.

Soon, Maybe Not Tomorrow

IT DOESN'T TAKE much space to deal with last week's White House press conference, the first in two and a half months. Never was there sharper distinction between the real man and the public image of the man. For the public image the White House ghost writers had put brave words into his State of the Union Message. Eisenhower spoke vigorously—he promised to reorganize the Pentagon "soon"; he would "promptly take such executive action as is necessary." That was Eisenhower the Myth speaking. At his press conference it was Eisenhower the man speaking. Poor fellow. We asked him about Pentagon reorganization. He hemmed and hawed. His syntax trailed off. It would require a "consensus." Nothing hurried. After all how could he commit his successor? He was "not going to be in this job more than three years." Poor fellow.

You must always draw this distinction between the two Eisenhowers. In a message last year, for example, the President said, "Of all the problems in education, one is most critical . . . the critical shortage of classrooms. . . . " And the follow-up this year? He has dropped his proposed Federal aid to classroom construction altogether.

On the other hand, if we guess right, Eisenhower is going to make a real fight this year for foreign aid and lower tariffs. He seems more emotionally committed to these than any other recent programs. He has a struggle ahead with Democrats as short-sightedly isolationist as the Republicans.

It looks to us, incidentally, as though Dean Acheson's foreign policy position was just about as frozen as John Foster Dulles'. All credit to George Kennan in his BBC lectures for putting a blowtorch to each!

Neutral Mechanism?

NOTE ON concentration of US economic power (from a new Fund for the Republic pamphlet by Adoph A. Berle, Jr.; free copies, 60 E. 42nd St., NYC): Today 50 percent of American manufacturing is held "by about 150 corporations." About two-thirds of the economically productive assets of the US, excluding agriculture, "are owned by a group of not more than 500 corporations." Within each of the 500 "a still smaller group has the ultimate decision-making power." The managements aren't publicly accountable and stockholders can't, in practice, remove them. It "makes the medieval feudal system look like a Sunday School party." In terms of budget, the monster A T & T "would be somewhere around the 13th state of the union." Many of these giant corporations "affect a greater number of people than most of the 90-odd sovereign countries of the world. Some can be thought of only in somewhat the way we have heretofore thought of nations."

In contrast to Dr. C. Wright Mills (*The American Power Elite*) Berle regards this incredible power pyramid as "a neutral mechanism," politically, at least so far—though he sees great danger. I guess Berle didn't cover the '52-'56 elections and watch the corporate monolith invent, finance and impose the Eisenhower Myth.

T.R.B.

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Correspondence

► *Teaching the Teachers*

SIRS:

DAVID STEVENSON told January 13 *New Republic* readers that there is no hope for the American school because the American teachers college is hopeless. As proof of this frugal statement, he offered several observations on American teachers colleges growing out of

(*Continued on page 23*)

Where's George?

"IT IS clear now what the President meant by sacrifices," one cynical correspondent commented after the 1959 budget was unveiled. "He was not talking about higher taxes, or longer working hours, or lower profits; he meant less federal help for slum clearance, rural electricity, farm supports, veterans benefits, housing, school and hospital construction and so on."

In briefing the press on the Administration's proposals, Treasury Secretary Anderson left no doubt about it. He emphasized that the present budget is designed for the long haul and that it will be necessary for citizens to practice the "discipline" of prudence and thrift for a protracted period.

The Administration's intention, clearly, is to practice deficit financing of public services in the civilian budget so long as increased defense spending is required. In dozens of areas where the federal government has performed needed services, the Administration proposes to leave it to George. It would end the "hidden subsidies" to the Georges who have had federal assistance in financing the houses that they buy. George the farmer can look forward to "greater flexibility" in the agricultural price support program, but no new projects for water resource conservation.

In some cases George will have a little time in which to get used to his new responsibilities. Existing appropriations for grants for hospital construction run through fiscal year 1959, but after that, only cases of extreme urgency or for specialized hospitals need be brought to federal attention. George the veteran can expect his non-service connected pensions to be revised after 1959, too. But George the civil servant can grasp right now that the $65 million program for major medical care insurance for federal employees is in the deferred category.

As a citizen of a state that has been receiving federal grants for a variety of purposes, George must face more taxes as the grants are cut off. To meet the added cost the states will be allowed to retain certain taxes the federal government now collects. But the proposal for transferring vocational education and waste disposal facilities next year demonstrates what happens when you begin to unravel the progressive federal tax system. The states will be allowed to retain 40 percent of the present federal tax on telephone and telegraph services. But as it works out 70 percent of what is retained will go to 12 large, wealthy states—the opposite of tax equalization. And new state and local taxes to make up the difference will undoubtedly be of the usual regressive character—sales taxes and property taxes in the main.

The net result of the Administration's new method of financing defense by cutting the civilian budget, as Adlai Stevenson recently predicted, will be that "we will soon be running dangerous deficits in virtually every field of public service" and "the total deficit in our social ledger three years from now will be in the neighborhood of $8 billion."

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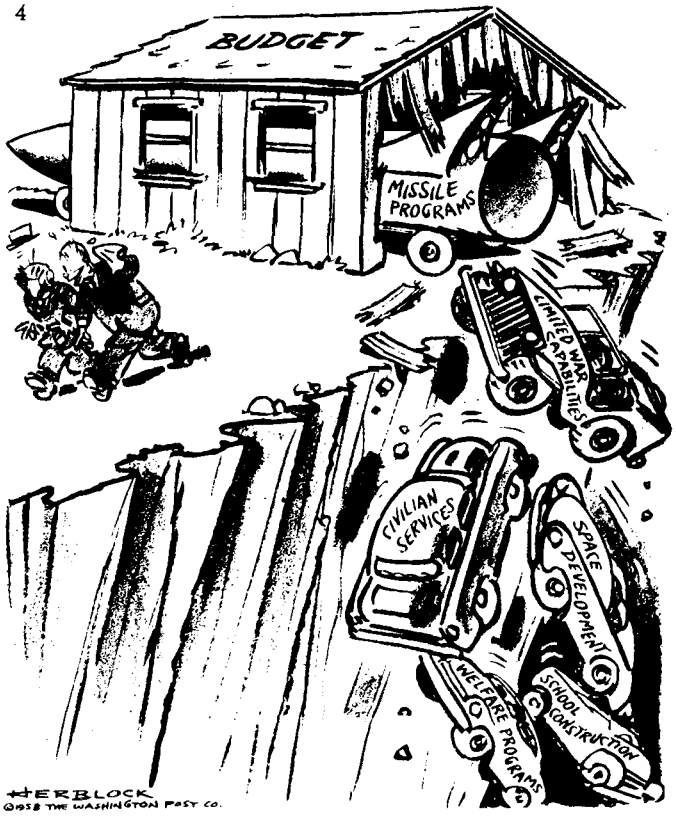

"Well, I got that in, all right"

How Much Military Aid?

SIMPLY because foreign aid inspires the enemies it does some might feel that any doubts about the aid program itself should be put aside for the duration. Certainly the million-dollar Eric Johnston campaign to sell the Administration's aid legislation should be supported. But at the same time we suggest a very close look at what Mr. Johnston is selling. Unfortunately, for all the Administration's professed determination to meet the long-range Soviet economic challenge, our aid program is, once again, largely a stop-gap program to hold together military alliances.

Of $3.9 billion requested for aid, $1.8 billion is for military hardware. Another $865 million is for "defense support" to prop up the economies of allies who get the hardware and who are committed, as allies, to armed forces far beyond their capacities. Only $625 million is for the new Development Loan Fund. For technical cooperation—"Point Four"—the Administration's $142 million request allows $10 million *less* for the International Cooperation Administration than last year's budget.

Congress should, we believe, consider reductions in military aid and "defense support" which would make possible more funds for the Development Loan Fund and for technical assistance. It is becoming increasingly questionable whether defensive forces along the Asian perimeter of the Communist world will in the future remain an asset for their deterrent value or become a highly vulnerable liability—exposed as they are to Russian ICBM's and to the nuclear weapons which Communist China can be given at any time by Moscow. Even if we assume, however, that local military forces in Asia continue to be an indispensable deterrent, there is still competent military opinion which questions the *size* of the forces we are maintaining in our Asian outposts, notably South Korea, Formosa and South Vietnam.

Nearly half of the $2.6 billion voted for military aid and "defense support" in the fiscal year ending next July 1 will go to our Asian allies. Yet Brig. Gen. Thomas R. Phillips, military analyst of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, quotes some military insiders as believing that Chiang Kai-shek's 600,000-man force, and the slightly smaller force of Syngman Rhee, are "twice as large as needed" for the defense of their respective territories. South Vietnam's 150,000-man force, he speculates, could be cut by one-third. "For one reason or another," writes General Phillips, "they have been allowed to grow to a size far greater than needed for defense."

Most often, of course, the reasons are political. In the case of South Korea, one reason is Syngman Rhee's desire to reunite Korea by war; thus even a recent US suggestion for a cut from 20 to 18 divisions brought vigorous protests. For Chiang a smaller force would not jibe with pretensions to recapture of the mainland. In all cases, powerful armed forces provide at least temporary political stability. But it is precisely the assumption that political stability *can* be preserved through military regimes, so long as we are willing to pay the price, which we believe it is time to re-examine.

Where Washington underwrites a military establishment which costs far more than the recipient nation could support out of its own resources, national leaders, once accepted as such by their own peoples, can be discredited as US stooges by local opponents—Communists included. Moreover, we become not merely the mainstay of the military but the mainstay of the government—responsible in the eyes of the people for internal policies which may or may not be just. In South Vietnam, for example, according to a recent report in these pages by David Hotham of *The Economist* (and his report is paralleled by Rudolph Hafter in Zurich's *Neue Zuricher Zeitung*), 64 percent of the $770 million in US aid to South Vietnam since the Indo-China truce has gone to pay wages of the Army and the Civil Guard, a 50,000-man rural police force which is, says Hotham, "a symbol of repression." South Vietnam has become, in short, "a police state in which the Americans are training and equipping the police."

Since the more committed we become, year after year, the more difficult it is to disengage ourselves, Congress should not let another year go by without reviewing our military aid programs. Perhaps in some cases inflated armed forces can be reduced substantially enough to make possible long-term credit for industrialization

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through the Development Loan Fund. But whatever else Congress does, we hope that the State Department will not again be permitted to maintain the secrecy which has made it so difficult to discuss military aid knowledgeably in past years. Despite their size, military aid appropriations have passed through Congress with astonishingly little debate. Even such information as how much would go to which government—how much, for example, to Chiang, how much to Ngo Dinh Diem—has not been made public. Instead, the facts have been disguised in affirmative-sounding but relatively meaningless categories, such as regional figures which tell us that Asia gets 46 percent of the total.

For obvious security reasons it might not be possible to disclose how many tanks, or how many jets, a particular country is to receive. But we can see no reason, nor can many Congressmen with whom we have discussed this matter, why the *sums of money* being expended in each country—as distinguished from precisely how the money is used—should not be made known to the public. The reason normally advanced is that diplomats find it awkward for one country to know what another is getting. But are we really expected to believe that the countries concerned cannot find out anyway? Undoubtedly, as General Phillips writes, our military aid is shrouded in "excessive and needless secrecy." In the absence of country-by-country figures, "it is almost impossible for an outsider to make any sort of rational evaluation of the program" —an evaluation which is long overdue.

Teachers in Short Supply

DR. JAMES R. KILLIAN, JR., making his first speech since taking office as Special Assistant to the President for Science and Technology, said:

> At this point in the evolution of our schools the highest priorities should be given to better provision for our intellectually gifted young people. We should lay greater stress on the more rigorous teaching of intellectual skills and on higher standards of excellence for both teachers and pupils.

Actually, a good deal would be accomplished if it proved possible merely to halt the decline in quality now occurring in the standards of preparation of college teachers. The National Education Association has recently issued some startling documentation, the result of a study of the individuals who went into university teaching during the academic years 1953-54 and 1956-57. We are told that in that four-year interval, the percent of newly-employed full-time teachers who had earned a Ph.D. degree dropped from 31.4 to 23.5. And at the same time, the percent hired even though they had not done enough postgraduate work to get an M.A. rose from 18.2 to 23.1.

Even with these low—and falling—standards, half of the 761 institutions studied had unfilled teaching positions—1,196 of them—during the two years 1955-57. The majority of these were in the areas where the training of additional students is very pressing: 226 were in engineering, 225 in the physical sciences, 148 in mathematics.

This inability to hire trained teachers is due in part to lack of numbers at a time of rapidly rising requirements, even though the total of advanced degrees awarded has gone up each year since 1954, with 59,300 M.A.'s and 8,820 Ph.D.'s in 1956. But in much larger part, the difficulty is due to the competitive attraction of non-academic occupations for such educated manpower as is available. The NEA estimates that of any 9,000 new Ph.D.'s, the colleges cannot hope to hire more than about 3,500, including researchers, administrators and teachers. About a third will remain where they were placed before getting their Ph.D.; of the remaining two-thirds, only three in five can be attracted into educational service. Of the Ph.D.'s entering new occupations in 1955 and 1956, the proportions going into posts outside education varied markedly from group to group: physical education, language (including English), and education specialists stayed put, nine to one, but about three out of four chemists, nearly that many engineers, and around three out of five physicists and psychologists were drawn off for work under other auspices.

The speed with which an annual deterioration in the quality of new hiring permeates a faculty is shown by the fact that while in 1953-54 only just over one in ten of the full-time teaching staff of colleges and universities had not yet reached M.A. status, by 1956-57, almost one in four was thus meagerly equipped.

Quicker than the Eye

LAST WEEK (*Drink!*) we attended a private demonstration of subliminal advertising, about which (*Coca Cola!*) there has been so much talk of late, and we are happy to report that the dangers of this new variety of hucksterism have been greatly (*Drink!*) exaggerated. The idea, as the demonstrator explained it, was (*Coca Cola!*) to flash the commercial on the screen very quickly, without halting the regular television program, even for a minute. Thus, he went on (*Drink!*), modern science might banish forever those untimely commercial interruptions that so (*Coca Cola!*) blunt the edge of one's enjoyment of the Million Dollar Movie.

The plain fact is, however (*Drink!*), that the device doesn't work. Why, you can't even *see* the message, so quickly (*Coca Cola!*) does it flash—which is rather a good joke on its inventors, we think. As a matter of fact, in order to prove that he wasn't just making the whole story up, the (*Drink!*) demonstrator actually had

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to ask the projectionists to slow *(Coca Cola!)* the apparatus to the point where we viewers could see the slogan. The projectionist did so, and sure enough, we were able to make out, plain as plain, the words:

SUBLIMINAL ADVERTISING IS HARMLESS

"Imbecile!" the demonstrator said *(Drink!)* and the embarrassed projectionist hastily tugged at the switch *(Coca Cola!)* once more, as we chuckled among ourselves, and then in a moment we saw another legend take shape upon the screen. *"Drink Coca Cola!"* it said. We stared at it intently, to see if it had the power to affect us to a greater degree than other forms of advertising. It did not. We find it difficult, therefore, to understand why anyone should become upset over so ridiculous a matter. Others can say what they please, but as for ourselves, we sat through the entire demonstration and have not observed the slightest alteration in our accustomed mode of life, except for a trifling matter of a constant and insatiable thirst for *(Coca Cola!)*.

All Save Two

"THE HISTORY of liberty," Mr. Justice Frankfurter has written, "has largely been the history of observance of procedural safeguards." And it is the mark of the illiberal, the authoritarian temperament, that it continually feels the urge to disregard some procedural safeguard for the sake of this or that immediate, compelling, and perhaps quite worthy, objective. In the Senate last week, the authoritarian temperament was heard from.

It came about in this fashion. Three decades ago, the Supreme Court, over the deathless dissent of Justice Brandeis, held that wiretapping does not violate Constitutional guarantees of individual privacy. Congress subsequently outlawed wiretapping by statute, and just a few weeks ago the Supreme Court held that the outlawry was intended to be comprehensive and it applied to state, as well as federal, law enforcement agencies. Now Senator McClellan, of the Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field, having had a bellyful of Becks and Hoffas and their like and of difficulties in tracking them down, has introduced a bill to overrule the Supreme Court's latest holding and to permit wiretapping by state officials. Senator McClellan was joined by all his colleagues on the Committee (including Mr. Irving Ives of New York) save two, who deserve honorable mention: Senators John Kennedy and Pat McNamara.

The point, of course, is that procedural safeguards are not there for the benefit of the innocent and law-abiding; nor, to be sure, for the benefit of the badman. They are there for society's sake. In observing procedural safeguards before permitting itself to distinguish between the good and the bad, the innocent and the guilty, society has a care for its immortal soul. And for its capacity to endure.

Inflation and Recession

AS A CASE study in how to have inflation and recession at the same time, the following data on the automobile industry between October, 1957, and January, 1958, are presented without comment:

List prices went up. Between October and November, 1957, when the new automobile models came out, the list prices on these models were raised by about 3.5 percent over the entire range from Fords to Cadillacs. At the new levels, the lowest-priced models of the Big Three, two-door sedans without automatic drive, power-steering or power brakes, list at $2,065 for a Ford, $2,101 for a Chevrolet, $2,118 for a Plymouth. Other models, exclusive of Corvettes and Thunderbirds, range up to $2,438 for a four-door Ford Fairlane 500, $2,734 for a Chevrolet Bel Air convertible, $2,762 for a Plymouth Belvidere convertible.

All prices followed. With the tightening-up in trade-in allowances, discounts, etc. which comes each year with the model change-over, prices to consumers of all cars, new and used, rose between October and November by 11.5 percent.

The size of automobile notes went up. As of the end of November, unsold stocks of new automobiles were substantially above those of a year previous, about comparable to 1955. The average note signed for a new car was slightly over $2,600. A year before, it had been a little under $2,500; in 1955 it was just over $2,300.

The length of automobile notes went up. In the big selling push of 1955, a three-year maturity on new car notes became fairly common—about one in four of all notes written were on that basis. But as of now, of the automobile paper purchased from dealers by finance companies and banks—and they buy some 75 percent of all notes—every other one gives the buyer three years to pay. Automobile credit outstanding—the purchase of today's or yesterday's cars with tomorrow's purchasing power—totals $15.5 billion.

The cost of living went up. On December 20, the Bureau of Labor Statistics announced its Consumer Price Index reflecting changes in prices between October and November. It was up 0.4 percent. The official news release stated that "higher prices for 1958 model automobiles were largely responsible for the increase."

Escalated wages went up. Automatically, because of escalator clauses in their contracts tied to the Consumer

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Index, approximately one million workers in American industry received an hourly wage increase—of these some 680,000 workers in basic steel and related industries for a raise of around five cents an hour. One-fifth of all steel produced is sold directly to the automobile industry. Steel is currently operating at some 60 percent of capacity.

Automobile production went down. To cut inventories and accommodate to current levels of scales, Christmas holidays were declared in automobile production. On December 24, Plymouth shut down operations until January 2; Dodge and De Soto were down respectively from December 31 to January 7 and from December 31 to January 6; Ford and Chevrolet made lesser adjustments. Total automobile production dropped to some 75,000-80,000 cars a week, as compared with around 140,000 a week in early December.

Since then, production has been resumed at a rate substantially lower than either before the holidays or a year ago. *Automotive News* estimates that for the week ending January 18, current lay-offs are idling 75,000-100,000 auto workers. With the home plants of Dodge, De Soto, Studebaker and Packard down entirely, and with Plymouth, Buick, Cadillac, Pontiac and Oldsmobile working short time, total output will be about 113,500 cars as contrasted with 146,000 in the comparable week of 1957.

Too Little, Too Slow

THE ADMINISTRATION'S $225 million response last week to India's credit emergency, unimpressive as it may seem next to New Delhi's request for at least $600 million, is not even as good as it *does* look. Not only is $150 million of this sum to come from the Export-Import Bank with its requirement that funds be spent in the US (thus raising costs, as Matthew J. Kust points out in this issue, by as much as 40 percent). More important, the Bank, which objected to an immediate line of credit such as that extended to Britain following Suez, will make its $150 million available only over a period of 15 to 18 months—for specific projects which are still to be agreed upon. The $75 million which is to come from the Development Loan Fund will also, it is true, be earmarked for specific projects. But this is in the very nature of the Fund; the Bank, on the other hand, could have been employed for a more immediate—not to mention a more substantial—response.

What the US has decided to do in 1958 does, of course, represent a contribution to salvaging India's Second Five Year Plan. But it is no more than a contribution; it does not "save" the Plan. For the United States to assist on the scale needed—to extend ample credit and to exploit fully our agricultural surpluses—special Congressional action will be inescapable.

Reciprocal Trade and Europe's Common Market

IN HIS State of the Union speech, President Eisenhower urged that we should strengthen our economic ties with our allies by renewing the Reciprocal Trade Act for five years and by other measures to foster mutual trade. The response of Congress to this proposal was much less than enthusiastic, and it is apparent that this program is in for grave trouble. At the moment at least 60 percent of both the House and Senate are opposed.

This is due to a number of causes. In the first place, the vast majority of the Republican leaders both in and out of Congress are still confirmed protectionists who regard the liberal trade notions of the New York bankers as heretical. Most of the Republican leaders in Congress have historically fought to cripple reciprocal trade and there is little reason to believe that they have changed their policies. This was to be expected. What makes the situation worse is the increasing disaffection of the South and of the mining states. Due to its export of raw cotton and tobacco, the South has historically been the main driving force for a liberal trade policy. The South has realized that it could not continue to export these commodities unless we accepted imports in return. Northern and Southern Democrats could therefore join hands in promoting free trade. But the South is now rapidly becoming a stronghold for protectionism. The textile industry in almost all its branches—cotton, woolens and synthetics—has virtually evacuated New England and moved into the foothills of the South. In so doing, it has brought its protectionist beliefs along and has been successful in transforming the Piedmont area into a protectionist stronghold. The cotton belt, in turn, fearful that the next steps in foreign aid will be to develop the river valleys of India and of the Mideast and hence to increase the supply of raw cotton, is now growing hostile to aid for economic development and is rapidly becoming more and more isolationist in sentiment.

To make matters still worse, the mining states, which do not have many inhabitants but which have great power in the Senate, are strongly protectionist in their desire to keep up the prices of copper, lead and zinc.

And yet while the political prospects for freer trade are gloomier than ever before, the need for positive and constructive action is greater. For in addition to the basic arguments for freer trade as a means of enabling each nation to do that which it can do best and of stimulating competition and hence promoting greater efficiency, there are now urgent political reasons why we should seek to develop further our trade with the free world. Russia,

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for example, is making desperate efforts to induce the nations of Western Europe to trade with her and with her satellites rather than with the West. If we put up added trade barriers against Western Europe, as we would by not renewing the Reciprocal Trade Act for another five years, we would throw these nations into the arms of Russia and would do much to break up the Western political alliance. Neutralism has already increased in Europe because of Russia's gains in the field of rockets and missiles. To make trade more difficult with Western Europe would be to increase this tendency.

Western Europe is, moreover, moving toward economic unity within itself. It has already done so in the case of coal and steel. There is complete freedom of trade in these basic products within the six countries of France, Germany, Italy, Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg, and a set of political and economic institutions has been created to manage these affairs. I have never spent a more inspiring day than one I spent last month at Luxembourg, the capital of the coal and steel community, where I saw the flesh-and-blood proof of this growing economic unity. Building on these foundations, the same six countries are now starting to put into effect a common market or customs union. Within 12 to 15 years, all tariffs will be abolished between these countries and there will be complete mobility of labor between them. Plants and workers who are forced out by the reduction and elimination of tariffs will be indemnified from a common fund. A similar setup exists for the development of atomic energy.

The workers in this movement believe that in thus effecting the economic unification of Western Europe, they are paving the way for its ultimate political unification just as List did for Germany with his Zollverein. Like the Zollverein also, the common market will have one tariff for all countries which lie outside. Great Britain at first held aloof from this movement but now realizes that to do so would put British manufacturers at a differential disadvantage in selling to the continent. She is therefore trying to get the advantages of the common market while continuing empire preference as compared to the outside world. But even such a peripheral free trade area would be a big step forward and in conjunction with the Scandinavian countries and Switzerland, which are cooperating with her, would increase the total number of people who would be within some form of customs union from 150 to 230 million.

The same pressures which are causing Britain to cooperate in tariff matters should also apply to us. If we do not cooperate with the common market and free trade area, our exporters will be subjected to a comparative disadvantage. This will affect more than a quarter of our foreign trade. At the very least, therefore, we should give the executive the power to negotiate agreements of mutual helpfulness to enlarge our common trade.

Membership in the Organization of Trade Cooperation (OTC) is also desirable in order to carry out these arrangements, and to give us a forum where we may prevent the European nations from maintaining and indeed tightening their import quotas.

Finally, of what value will be the St. Lawrence Seaway and all the attendant harbor, dock and warehouse facilities which the Midwestern cities are carrying out, if we prevent Europe from shipping goods to us and thereby help to shut off our own exports?

Vigorous action by the Administration may still save the trade program. This has not been given in the past. For again and again the Administration has raised tariffs under the escape clause and has imposed quotas on those exporting to this country. While talking freer trade, it has packed the Tariff Commission with protectionists. If the President will back up his current fair words with deeds, there will be many of us who will help. But we liberal Democrats of the North cannot do the job alone.

PAUL H. DOUGLAS

TRAVELOGUE

MAKE this your travel year; don't hesitate
But book your place on pilgrim plane or ship;
Be off, and keep one jump ahead of fate,
Never or now, before the chance is gone
Set out upon your Mediterranean trip.
Gape at the ruins of antiquity,
Luxor and Thebes, Byzantium, Babylon,
Take in the lot,
Before man does to them what time could not.
See Taormina in soft Sicily,
Isles in Aegean and Ionian seas,
Corinth and Sunium and the Parthenon—
World wonders, by their makers left behind,
A heritage for countless centuries.

Make up your mind,
Mesopotamia this year is a must.
See Susa with its columns carved and scrolled,
Petra, the rosy city half as old
As time, not made to crumble into dust,
Gods and Great Kings serene in sculptured calm.
See Baalbek, Nazareth and Bethlehem,
Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem,
The Holy Lands of Christians and Islam.
See Troy, the tombs of Ur—and do not miss
Palmyra, Timgad, and Persepolis
Golden between the desert and the sky,
See Athens and eternal Rome and die.

It's later than you think—be on your way.
Who knows what accident might not occur?
You may be gone yourself another year,
And, what is more important, so may they.

SAGITTARIUS

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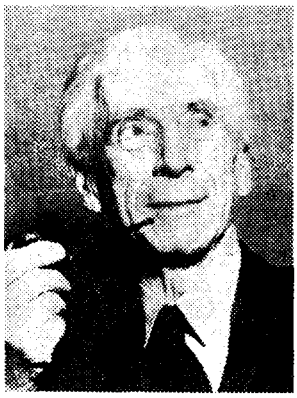
Bertrand Russell on Negotiations

LORD BERTRAND RUSSELL'S *"Open Letter to Eisenhower and Khrushchev"* (New Statesman and Nation, *Nov. 23, 1957*), *urging a summit meeting to consider "the conditions of co-existence," provided the occasion for Khrushchev's much-publicized response that peace could be served "both by a meeting of representatives of the two powers, the USSR and the United States, and by a wider meeting of representatives of the capitalist and socialist countries." Lord Russell, elaborating his views* (The Observer, *Jan. 5*), *then went on to propose a cessation of nuclear weapons production, unilaterally by Britain if necessary, and a German settlement providing not only for the neutral zone advocated by George Kennan but a Germany "freed from all alien armed forces and pledged to neutrality in any conflict between East and West."*



The New Republic *invited Lord Russell last week to detail his views still further, asking specifically what modifications in present US positions on disarmament, nuclear tests, European security, and the Middle East he believes are needed and might meet with a favorable response.*

His reply follows.

PLAS PENRHYN
PENRHYNDEUDRAETH
MERIONETH

10 January, 1958.

Dear Sirs:

I suggest the following terms as a basis for negotiations:

Nuclear weapons tests to cease immediately by agreement. Negotiations to be inaugurated for abolition of H-bombs under guarantee of neutral inspection (say by India and Sweden, jointly). There will also be need for inspection of the industrial use of atomic energy to insure its not being diverted to war uses. Conventional weapons to be cut down in such a way as not to alter the balance of power.

A Neutralized Zone to be established in Central Europe comprising, as a minimum, Germany—East and West—Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. No alien armed forces, whether Russian or Western, to be allowed in the Zone. Each country in the Zone to be free to choose its own political and economic system and, in particular, East and West Germany to be allowed to unite with whatever form of constitution they prefer. No State in the Neutralized Zone to conclude an alliance with any State outside the Zone. Germany to accept the Oder-Neisse frontier.

In the Middle East, the West must avoid opposing Arab Nationalism or supporting reactionary Governments. Arab nations should be left free to develop as they may prefer, but Israel must be protected from aggression, and prevented from committing it, by a United Nations force on its frontiers. Friendly relations with Arab nationalism offer the best chance for Western oil interests.

Communist China should be recognized and admitted to United Nations with a permanent seat on the Security Council.

As regards procedure, I should wish to see, first, negotiations between the US and the USSR alone with a view, not to reaching binding decisions, but to discovering whether a compromise agreement is possible. If it is found to be possible, it should then be proposed to the other Powers of NATO and the Warsaw Pact as something that the US and the USSR could both accept.

I think it may be assumed that neither the US nor the USSR desire a nuclear war, but there are risks of its occurring unintentionally. The first and most urgent steps should be those which diminish this risk. These have to do with H-bomb tests and with the constant flight of planes armed with nuclear weapons. Agreements to stop these should therefore have priority. Almost equally urgent is the prevention of the acquisition of H-bombs by Powers which do not have them at present. I should wish to see the US and the USSR jointly agree to prevent the acquisition of H-bombs by new Powers, and, if it would facilitate such agreement, I should wish to see Britain renounce H-bombs as part of the agreement.

BERTRAND RUSSELL

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Science: The Megabuck Era

by NORBERT WIENER

THE PERIOD beginning with World War II has seen a great change in the concept of scientific research and in the procedures by which this research is realized. Previously the chief sector of scientific research was academic, and a large part of the workers in that field were individual scientists following out their own ideas with the least expensive apparatus they could throw together and with the help of a limited group of devoted colleagues and students who intended to follow in the footsteps of their masters. This was the sort of scientific work I saw exemplified at Cambridge in the first atom-splitting researches of Cockcroft and Walton. Instead of ordering specially fabricated glass tubes they constructed their own apparatus out of plain and cylindrical glass pieces cemented with a low-vapor-pressure cement.

Even before World War II a new type of mass research, largely sponsored by the great industrial firms, had begun to come into vogue here in America. In this research, science was primarily regarded as a profitable investment. There ensued a struggle between the classical academic science and the new industrial science in which the industrial scientists secured an important role in the National Academy and in other institutions dedicated to the control of scientific research.

The war led to a rapid development of military scientific work similar to the industrial scientific work. The atmosphere of urgency created by the imminence of atomic fission led to a mass attack on nuclear problems which distinguished the government research from that of industry, but its fundamental motivation was the same.

One difference between the two types of mass research is, however, significant. The United States Government is much richer than any of the individual corporations existing under it, and the need for immediate results was so enormous as to produce a lavishness in the use of money which no corporation could afford in times of peace. This lavishness extended beyond strictly government work into the indirect military work undertaken by the great corporations, for whom the continuance of government contracts was a consideration outweighing the more direct previous motives of the research as such.

The result is that we are in a period in which the normal type of research has ceased to be the private research of individual scholars at the great universities and has come to be a highly organized mass undertaking. When we join to the aggrandizement of military research the progressive inflation of money, and the drying up of private springs on which academic research had largely depended, we see that we are in a new era in which the research of the individual scholar has become a marginal and somewhat exceptional phenomenon, and in which highly organized mass research prevails, whether its backing be governmental or corporate.

One of the paradoxes of this era is the relative ease with which large sums of money for great and highly organized investigations are obtainable, and the increasing unwillingness of the government, the foundations, and industrial firms to spend moderate sums for investigations of moderate scope. We are living in what Von Neumann called the Megabuck or Kilogrand era. The costliness of administering many small projects has led dispensers of money to view them with a jaundiced eye. It has become easier to obtain a million dollars in a single grant than in a multiplicity of small grants. And it is even easier to obtain a single grant of $1 million than a single grant of $10,000 to $100,000.

This has had, and is having, an evil effect on scientific research all down the line, and is an important element in creating the lamentable situation which has been made clear to the public by the coming of Sputnik and by the light which this has cast on the defects of our own research methods. Our preoccupation with large-scale projects has led not only to a great waste of money, but, far worse, to a demoralization of science at the roots.

There has been an infringement on the role of the creative scientist both from below and from above. The younger men in our modern mass projects have been relegated to the place of technicians. On the one hand they have been deprived of all responsibility, both by the new rules of security and by the sheer bulk and prestige of the large undertakings which employ them. On the other hand, they have been offered financial rewards and

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rewards of position which either are so great, or seem to be so great, that they are tempting to those whose chief motive is personal success and aggrandizement. These new go-getters in science are people from whom no major creative contribution can be expected and who serve to dilute and keep apart the really creative and devoted young minds from whom the future progress of science is to be expected.

These go-getters constitute the nether millstone of the modern invention factories. The upper millstone consists of administrators whose main time is occupied in dispensing of large sums of money in daily housekeeping for the huge numbers of people involved. This task of expenditure and control claims so much of their time and energy that they cannot be expected to devote any great part of their effort to the organization and development of ideas. Moreover these administrative abilities which they must possess do not either universally or even generally go together with the ability of original thought, so that the scientist whose chief powers are creative is in very many cases not even considered for the headship of large projects.

In between these lords of modern science and the stratum of technicians lie what is left of the true scientists. On the one hand, in the eyes of their technical subordinates, they have only a remotely derived authority. On the other, they appear to their administrative superiors as very little more than a higher grade of technicians. They do not even lie in the direct line of promotion from foreman to technician to junior administrator. The route need not pass through the ranks of the creative scientist, and very often detours around them.

I have referred to the difficulties caused by considerations of security. These have had important effects, both direct and indirect. On the one hand so much of our new research work is sponsored by defense agencies that it is naturally dominated by the understood policies of these agencies in matters of security. These policies seem to be based on the belief that the possibility of a leak of information to the enemy is an immediate and obvious danger, but that the damage which may accrue to our own projects by an interference with the free communication of those working on these projects is something remote and not very important. The result is that scientific work tends to be divided into small closed compartments with the men on one project kept deliberately uninformed of the work going on in another sub-project. It is even difficult for the administrative officers in charge of projects to learn much of what is going on outside their official bailiwicks. When original scientific minds play the role of rather nondescript subordinates, it is quite impossible for them to penetrate outside of their own problems except through a sort of intuitive guessing, which is not encouraged. The result is that much of the design of the new devices is done piecemeal, and often no competent person is well informed about the other apparatus which must work together with the apparatus he is designing. It may well be that the first time he learns these details is after the whole device has been assembled in what is supposed to be a working form.

The results can be very serious. In the first place it is quite common for a big project to be divided up into a number of alternative approaches, with those assigned to one project strictly forbidden to spend their time inquiring into other possibilities. When, as has more than once occurred, some of these approaches are based on misconceptions, and are doomed to failure from the beginning, the very least we can expect is a great waste of time and manpower when time and manpower are essential. Then, too, a complicated piece of apparatus must be designed as a whole, and represents much more than the design of each component part. Furthermore the component parts of a big design are handed over to men who cannot obtain the full criticism of their colleagues until the structures they have designed have been assembled in metal and have succeeded or failed. The number of people competent to see a large design through without the adequate criticism of more experienced workers is not great, and people competent to exercise such independent responsibility are simply not to be found in adequate numbers.

THERE is a secondary but important disadvantage of excessive secrecy. When the administrators of great projects are not at the same time the original minds of these projects, they will often be incompletely acquainted with the scientific aspects of the work they have undertaken. This may have a tendency to put them on the defensive and to make them unwilling to submit their efforts to searching criticism. Secrecy gives them a ready-made excuse for avoiding this criticism, and therefore they sometimes deny to those who would otherwise be competent to criticize the information which would allow them to criticize with authority. Thus secrecy, entered into out of our motive of national security, has become the best protection for incompetent mediocrity, and the mediocrities know this very well.

The path upon which our mass science has entered has many disadvantages, some of which we are beginning to find out the hard way. These disadvantages will not be allayed until we have made a considerable return to the standards and the methods of pre-Megabuck science. Whether we shall be able to halt the present vogue for the cult of the big, I do not know. I see no clear indication that we can do anything about it short of a radical reconstruction of our teaching and of our ideals of integrity. Perhaps a soul-searching in these matters will come when we have been hurt badly enough by present trends to have developed something like a consciousness of sin. As of the beginning of the year 1958 I believe that we have only been pricked and annoyed, but not really hurt, and that we must wait for worse things to come.

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INDIA: Deepening Crisis

II. What the US Can Do

by MATTHEW J. KUST

From 1951 to 1954 Washington attorney MATTHEW J. KUST *served as legal adviser for aid programs to US embassies in India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Nepal, Ceylon, Burma and Indonesia. His extensive writings concerning our foreign aid include a recent study in* Foreign Affairs, *"Economic Development and Agricultural Surpluses." Formerly an associate in the New York law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell, Mr. Kust is now engaged in international legal practice. Last week he examined what India can do to relieve its economic crisis. In his final article he argues that greatly increased US assistance can be "decisive."*

INDIA HAS approached the United States for help, help soon, help on a large scale. Although $600 million is the sum which has been requested to meet an immediate deficit in foreign exchange—the Administration's dilatory and inadequate response last week was only $225 million—India's actual needs run much higher. India cites $1.4 billion as a bare minimum needed from all foreign sources to assure the success of the Second Five Year Plan. When we consider the developing shortfalls in financing for the Plan, even $2 billion is a modest estimate of the difference between success and failure.

Since it is, I believe, in our national interest to assist India with its economic development, we must consider what can and should be done. What should be done, of course, in view of the gravity of the problem, calls for special Congressional action. Such action, reminiscent of our response to the crisis in Greece 10 years ago, would exemplify a boldness singularly lacking in our foreign policy today. There is little promise of such action on the political horizon, however, and we must consider what can be done within the existing and emerging foreign aid program.

The objective of our economic assistance to India should be twofold:

First, to alleviate the present food crisis so India can gain time to increase agricultural production and above all, as I argued in these pages last week, to develop more effective agricultural taxation.

Second, to provide the foreign exchange necessary for industrial progress until India can redress the present unfavorable balance of trade.

These objectives are, quite obviously, interdependent. If the food crisis can be solved, the only foreign exchange required will be for imports of capital goods and for technical assistance. If, however, food must be purchased abroad to carry out the Second Five Year Plan, the food crisis will overlap and greatly aggravate the foreign exchange crisis.

If we can give India time, time to reform its agricultural policies and time to carry forward industrialization, I believe stable economic and political development to be entirely possible. I can envision a prosperous and powerful industrial India engaged in friendly intercourse with the United States. For example, India, with its excellent iron and manganese ore resources and other favorable factors, can produce steel at a lower cost than most countries. India's new steel plants—not to mention other industrial projects—will make possible progressive savings and even earnings in foreign exchange through the export of steel and steel products.

Here, then, is a concrete and feasible program for United States economic assistance to India.

AGRICULTURAL SURPLUSES. The food crisis in India finds the free world in a strange and ironic posture. In India, as in most other underdeveloped countries, the principal barrier to economic development is insufficient supplies of food. Yet the United States (and several other countries) face an almost insoluble problem of agricultural surpluses. American agricultural surpluses alone amount to nearly $8 billion! These surpluses not only imperil our economic stability at home but attempts to sell them abroad have disturbed our relations with other countries possessing agricultural surpluses.

This equation—insufficient food supplies in India plus unmanageable agricultural surpluses in the United States—points plainly to the use of our farm surpluses to rescue India's Second Five Year Plan.

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The present Public Law 480 surplus program could be extended for this purpose. Thus far Congress has authorized $4 billion in surpluses for the four-year period ending June 30, 1958, and it appears that an extension of the program is contemplated for fiscal 1959. But this program leaves much to be desired.

Public Law 480 was designed to sell agricultural surpluses abroad for foreign currencies when it was found difficult to sell them for dollars. The proceeds are used for several purposes, only one of which is loans and grants for economic development. The program *can* be used for economic development in underdeveloped countries and has been so used to a limited extent in India and Indonesia. Unfortunately, however, economic development is not its chief purpose. Instead PL 480 is now characterized as a surplus disposal program with all of the unfortunate foreign policy implications connected with that term.

Moreover, the PL 480 program directs a large proportion of its agricultural surpluses to Europe and needlessly undermines traditional markets for the agricultural exports of countries such as Canada and Australia. About one-third of the surpluses were sold to Europe during the first three years. This not only strains our relations with these countries, but accumulated foreign currencies pose a difficult problem of management for the US Treasury and create fears abroad of US domination.

CONGRESS should make a fresh start on the problem of agricultural surpluses by limiting the program to underdeveloped countries for their economic development, by transferring the surpluses in the form of grants without any foreign currency deposits to the account of the US Treasury, and by making the entire amount of our surpluses available for this purpose.

If the new program had as its primary objective the economic development of underdeveloped countries Canada would be less likely to find it economically and politically objectionable. In fact, we should do our utmost to persuade Canada to join us in this program. Canada has just promised India $7 million worth of wheat under the Colombo Plan and is likely, therefore, to welcome an enlarged program.

Such a new program would make it possible to grant India needed agricultural surpluses to stabilize inflation and carry out the Second Five Year Plan. But there should be no agreements for fixed amounts of our agricultural surpluses. India should, instead, be able without limits fixed in advance to draw on our surpluses for food and other agricultural products needed from outside to carry out the Plan. This may well turn out to be $500 million in agricultural surpluses per year in contrast to $125 million or so per year under existing agreements, even taking into account the latest $65 million agreement presently under negotiation.

India's Second Five Year Plan is a minimum plan for economic progress. Yet there has been criticism that the Plan is too ambitious. This may seem to be so from the standpoint of available financial or physical resources, but certainly not from the standpoint of need. The Plan is expected to provide only about eight million new jobs outside agriculture, which will barely absorb the additions to the labor force due to population growth during the period. India should, in fact, be undertaking a more ambitious Plan if she is to achieve a satisfactory rate of economic betterment for her people and keep pace with China in economic development. But this would only be possible if we made large quantities of our agricultural surpluses available to India under a revised program of surplus grants to the underdeveloped areas.

This new and augmented program of agricultural surpluses for economic development would enable our government to help India solve the major crisis of the Second Five Year Plan. At the same time it would reduce India's foreign exchange need to the bare minimum by obviating the need of foreign exchange for food purchases abroad. But the need of foreign exchange for imports of capital goods and technical assistance would still be substantial.

DEVELOPMENT LOAN FUND. In this connection, our best instrument for assisting India is the new Development Loan Fund. The Export-Import Bank should also be used more effectively for this purpose than it has been to date. But the Bank requires purchases of capital goods and technical services in the United States, which increases the cost of projects by about 40 percent. There are limits, therefore, to its utility as a means for assisting India. The Fund must be our major instrument.

The Administration requested and the Senate authorized a $2 billion Development Loan Fund last summer. One-half billion dollars was to be a direct appropriation and $1.5 billion was to be borrowed from the Treasury. The House first cut out the borrowing authority and then proceeded to appropriate only $300 million to launch the Fund during its first year. As it stands today the Fund has a two-year authorization of $500 and $625 million, respectively, and an appropriation against the first year's authorization of $300 million.

In the new session of Congress, an all-out effort should be made to appropriate for the Development Loan Fund capital on the scale originally planned in order to assist India in its foreign exchange difficulties. With $625 million already authorized to be appropriated, the Administration can and is likely to request Congress early in this session to appropriate this new sum, bringing the Fund to $925 million. In addition, however, why not request once again the balance of last year's authorization, adding still another $200 million? This would build the Fund up to $1.125 billion.

Moreover, in the new Mutual Security bill for fiscal 1959, another attempt should be made to obtain the

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originally contemplated borrowing authority for the Fund. There is every reason to expect that the Senate would restore this authority to the Fund. We can only hope that the House, too, recognizing our deteriorating international position, would give the Fund this needed power. By this summer the Development Loan Fund could be in business in accordance with its original conception. Unfortunately, however, the budget message indicates that the Administration has already decided against approaching Congress for anything more than the $625 million of already authorized funds.

It is the purpose of the Fund to finance economic development on a project-by-project basis instead of the previous country-by-country basis of foreign aid. This should not prove unfavorable to India with its well-developed Plan with specific projects.

With respect to another of the Fund's declared purposes, however, we must exercise great care: the encouragement of private enterprise in the underdeveloped areas. We can only hope that the Administration will carry out this intent wisely. The furor created by Mr. Hollister's parting directive as head of the International Cooperation Administration gives some pause for thought on this point. It would be a foreign policy mistake to permit this laudable purpose of the Fund to become a means—or to be viewed as a means—for dictating or influencing domestic economic policies and alignments in the under-industrialized countries. In many of these countries the government is required to undertake industrial projects which in the US we leave to private enterprise because no private interest, domestic or foreign, is able and willing to do the job. To deny such undertakings help under the Development Loan Fund because of some blind dedication to the philosophy of private enterprise would be inadvisable foreign policy.

INDIA would be at a disadvantage under any such narrow policy. In the Government's Industrial Policy Resolution of April 30, 1956, India allocates responsibility for the development of many industries such as railways, steel, heavy machinery, heavy electrical equipment and others to the State. It is considered a matter of economic necessity. Then, too, there are other domestic reasons, properly of concern to Indians in determining their own internal relationships, which may be involved. We must exercise great care to avoid any suggestion that by the allocation of our loans we are seeking to affect these relationships. The Russians avoid this pitfall by conforming without deviation to the settled economic policies of recipient countries. As the State Department's own study of the Soviet-bloc economic offensive noted and as this journal pointed out, the Russians gain great political capital and psychological impact at relatively low cost by channeling aid to those heavy industries—such as steel mills—which symbolize the desire of the underdeveloped countries to catch up with the West. Often these industries happen to be marked out for primary state development. We must, therefore, be prepared to use our Loan Fund with political sophistication, which means that we should loan funds to governments for state-controlled industrial development as well as to US and foreign private enterprise.

At the same time, it should be emphasized, India's economic policy is not so inflexible that private enterprise when it is willing and able is precluded. For example, the Tata enterprises have been permitted to operate and expand their privately-owned steel mill. Other Indian industrialists have also received approval to undertake heavy industries allocated to the State where they proved able and willing to do so. If the Administration approaches this matter flexibly the Fund can be an effective instrument for assisting India's industrialization.

Encouraging US private enterprise to assist in the economic development of underdeveloped areas is laudable above all, in terms of economic necessity. While our government is in a good position to assist underdeveloped countries in the fields of agriculture, health and education—able as it is, with the participation of American universities, colleges and other non-profit organizations to marshal the best American knowledge and skills for these purposes—it is greatly handicapped in assisting these countries with their industrialization. To be sure, our government is able to provide capital and other financial assistance through such means as the Development Loan Fund and Export-Import Bank. But it has no way of assuring that the capital goods and the managerial and technical skills for which this finance is made available will be forthcoming from the United States.

The reasons are not difficult to understand. Industrial technology is principally the property of US private enterprise. Americans most knowledgeable and skilled in industrial management and technology are employed by private enterprise. Thus, assistance for industrialization is not readily within the province of our government. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, can send its best technology, technicians and managers anywhere in the world to further its foreign policy. The State Department study reveals that the 2,000 Soviet technicians now in the field are almost exclusively industrial experts. Our problem is how to induce American private enterprise to send its capital, knowledge and skills to the underdeveloped countries to assist with their industrialization.

TAX CONCESSIONS. The intent of the Development Loan Fund to encourage American private enterprise participation is laudable precisely because it recognizes the importance of channeling US technology to the under-industrialized countries. In assuming all or part of the capital risk the Fund can make it easier for Americans to supply the technology. It is doubtful, however, whether this will suffice by itself.

American business finds it hard to induce its mana-

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gerial and technical personnel to go to these countries. It encounters economic costs, risks and obstacles absent at home. Moreover, the economic and political situation in many of these countries increases the risk of inconvertibility of foreign currencies, expropriation and damage due to riot, revolution and war. These and other factors make the employment of capital and technology in underindustrialized countries far less attractive to US private enterprise than its employment at home or in other industrialized countries, above all at a time of high prosperity.

Thus far our government has merely established the so-called investment guaranty program which removes only part of the risks, costs and obstacles. This program has proved insufficient by itself to stimulate a substantially increased participation by US private enterprise in the development of the underindustrialized countries.

More positive steps will have to be taken to induce US firms to employ capital and technology in the underdeveloped areas. Profit expectations will have to be increased in order to induce US business to assume the risks and costs involved. To do this I propose an income tax concession.

This tax concession should be restricted to *new* US private investment and technical assistance in underindustrialized countries. Further, so that its political validity as part of our foreign policy may constantly be reviewed, this concession should be administered by the State Department, or another agency designated by the President, through the issuance of tax exemption certificates for qualified foreign investment and technical assistance. This procedure would be similar to the administration of the existing investment guaranty and amortization of emergency facilities. The certifying agency should be empowered to grant partial or complete tax exemption as it determines is necessary in accordance with guiding standards and criteria fixed by Congress to induce greater participation by US private enterprise in the industrialization of the underdeveloped countries.

A tax exemption of individual income from personal services rendered abroad in connection with certified US private investment and technical assistance to underindustrialized countries should also be provided.

This proposal differs fundamentally from the so-called Fourteen Percentage Point tax credit for foreign income which the Administration tried to get enacted unsuccessfully in 1954 and 1955. This proposal had as its purpose a vague objective to stimulate "foreign investment." It gave insufficient recognition to the more important factor of managerial and technical assistance. Most important of all, perhaps, there was no limitation of the tax concession to investment and technical assistance, nor was there any suggestion of limiting it to *new* investment and technical assistance. The net result of the Administration's proposal would have been to benefit US private investment, past as well as prospective, in the already-industrialized countries of Canada and Europe where the bulk of present US investment abroad is situated. It would have been ineffectual for stimulating more US private investment and technical assistance in Asia and Africa. It is unfortunate, therefore, that Vice President Nixon reendorsed this twice-rejected proposal in his address last October in San Francisco before the International Industrial Development Conference, which had as its theme the industrialization of the underdeveloped countries, and we can hope that the Administration will display greater economic statesmanship when it places its final proposals before Congress this year.

THE tax proposal suggested here would assist appreciably in India's industrialization. A great number of Indian businessmen have approached US companies this past year with well-thought-out proposals for industrial undertakings for which they require capital goods and technical assistance from the United States. While the finance for the capital goods and technical assistance can come from either private enterprise or the government, the technical assistance itself can come only from US private firms. Yet the reception by US business to these proposals has been unenthusiastic. If, however, the undertakings would be free of income tax, US business would be compelled to take greater interest in the proposals. And as it happens, this gain to US business would also be a great gain, attainable in no other way, for our foreign policy.

Finally, we should continue our Point Four program to India to provide technical assistance for the development of agriculture, health and education.

In sum, an effective program under which we could assist India to fulfill its Second Five Year Plan should consist of the following components:

► Grants of agricultural surpluses to enable sound domestic financing of economic development.

► Loans to provide foreign exchange for the capital goods and technical assistance required from abroad for industrialization and other economic development.

► Investment guaranties, tax exemption and other concessions to induce US private enterprise to send its technology and capital to under-developed countries to assist with industrialization, and

► Technical assistance for the development of agriculture, health and education.

A foreign aid program so constituted would furnish the food needed from outside to permit sound economic development until India, on its own, can resolve enormous long-range dilemmas of agricultural production and taxation. This program embodies, at the same time, the essential elements for a program suited to the needs of other underdeveloped countries.

Second of two articles.

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BOOKS & COMMENT

Through a Glass Sourly-Darkly

by Harvey Swados

EARLY recognition has always been a hazardous triumph for the young man working in the arts. In recent years the hazards attendant upon youthful success in our society have doubled and redoubled: from movie money to mass media exploitation, the Lorelei are itching to seduce the serious young artist. And all this in addition to the traditional traps: the envious critics lying in wait for his new show or his second novel; the great expectations of his admirers, who peer anxiously over his shoulder, waiting for their fashionable praise to be triumphantly vindicated.

Some Came Running, by James Jones (Scribners; $7.50).

Bearing all this in mind, I began James Jones's enormous new novel with great sympathy, and read it with as much attention as one can devote to a novel of 1266 pages that must be discussed in a weekly magazine. I had not much liked his first book, *From Here to Eternity,* which I felt to be sentimentally conceived and crudely written; but it was starred with passages of considerable power, and was endowed with sufficient narrative drive to excite the hope that its author would in time master the difficult art he had set out to conquer.

The first thing one notices, I think, about *Some Came Running,* is how badly it is written. This is not primarily because of Mr. Jones's determination (other novelists have attempted it before him) to abolish the apostrophe—although that in itself is so evident on every page as to warrant passing comment. There are it is true apostrophes here and there, but since they appear most infrequently it can be fairly assumed that *they* are the typographical errors, and not the "Im," "hed," "youre" and "isnt" with which the pages are dotted. Of course it can be argued that these words mean the same with or without punctuation, and that therefore it would be better omitted. But there remains a difference to the eye, the ear and the mind, between "we're" and "were," between "we'd" and "wed," between "she'd" and "shed," to cite only a few examples of Mr. Jones's maddeningly pointless and irritating rebellion against the apostrophe. Only a tone-deaf writer, insensitive to the resonance-potential of language, would resort to this kind of adolescent defiance—unless he were deliberately attempting, like a dadaist or a Joycean, to smash the traditional forms in order to construct new forms (something with which Mr. Jones could never be charged, since his new book can be regarded as an appalling cenotaph to the traditional realistic novel).

And indeed that is the kind of writer Mr. Jones reveals himself to be. His hero does not only grin "sillily" (on page 181); he and his associates smile "friendlily" (on pages 26, 96, 157, 194 and elsewhere). This substitution of adverbiage for an attempt to utilize the resources of the language to explain what one means—a characteristic of both novices and professional pulp writers—is endemic in Mr. Jones's prose. Thus, on pages 142-3:

> "Maybe you should be teaching," Dave said sourly . . . "Youre a very unusual woman, you know it?" Dave said lowly, and regretfully. "Not so unusual as you might think," Gwen French said, darkly . . . "My whole life has been spent studying the lives of people just like you. —Besides, I have my own problems," she said darkly . . . "That might not be such a bad life," Dave said sourly, "if it were only true."

This sourly-darkly gambit is neither unique nor isolated. Tagging his characters with adverbial descriptives, Mr. Jones follows them relentlessly through twelve-hundred odd pages of Dave speaking sourly, Gwen speaking darkly, and 'Bama speaking sneeringly. If we take two pages at random, we find on one that Dave and Frank speak "relishingly," "thinly," "reasonably," "carefully," "guiltily," "coolly," "irately," "reasonably" and "miserably"; and on another that the characters speak "cautiously," "doubtfully," "disgustedly," "fearfully," "breezily," "sardonically," "briskly," "sneeringly," "vehemently" and "soothingly."

It is inevitable that a writer with so little respect for his craft will take the easy way out (despite the reported six years of labor on this volume) by relying heavily on the redundant and the tautological. So we read on page 5: "It was curious, that association of gold and his brother Frank and how they always went together in his mind." Or on page 416: ". . . Rosalie said sweetly, and shouldered her muscular shoulders into her expensive coat."

ONE CAN of course recall a number of desperately awkward novelists who have managed to surpass their limitations, who have from time to time risen to a burst of lyric eloquence redeeming all the stammering ineptitude. It is a matter of regret that Mr. Jones at no point rises or even seems aware of the need to rise above his adverbial plane.

One can also recall that literary history is lined with the figures of giants who have gained eternal life despite the tediousness of their prose, while the corpses of their niggling critics now lie happily nameless and forgotten. These are the writers who succeed in making us forget their clumsiness by the grandeur of their conceptions, the depth of their insights, the persistent "living quality" of their characters. It is a matter of even more profound regret that none of these attributes are present in any measurable degree (that is, in any degree capable of competing for our attention with the wretchedness of the prose) in Mr. Jones's new novel.

The hero of *Some Came Running* is an ex-novelist named Dave Hirsh, who returns to his Illinois home town after a 19-year absence; the story—sandwiched between an italicized Prologue describing Dave's combat days during the Battle of the Bulge and an italicized Epilogue describing the combat death of a younger would-be writer friend of Dave's in Korea—concerns the degeneration of the Hirsh family and its circles of friends, and by inference of all Amer-

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ica in the forties and fifties. Dave has given up writing novels after having been jilted; he is reinspired to write by a flaming local intellectual named Guinevere French; their love comes to naught because Gwen French is a secret virgin, terrified of sex, and because Dave mistakenly diagnoses her case as nymphomania and marries a fat, moronic brassiere factory operator . . . Dave's brother Frank, an aggressive businessman, approaches the male climacteric by collecting mistresses and finally by turning voyeur, peeping at his own mistresses from alleyways . . . one of the mistresses' grandmother dies slowly of a diverticulosis of the lower bowel under the mistaken impression that she has gonorrhea, after fornicating in parked cars with the drunken old father of Dave and Frank, and with other old pensioners. . . . The list is long, continuously sordid, and more than faintly nauseating.

Those who are interested will find Mr. Jones's explanation of this bulky catalogue of horrors on pages 418 and 419. Dave

> . . . was amongst the Plebs . . . The "laboring element" The teeming swarming life-loving life-devouring antheap of the Forum. . . . And out at the Country Club tonight, the leaders. The vain energetic Caesars, the vain weakling Pompeys, the vain shrewd-politico Augustuses. . . . In a word: *decadence*, he thought, almost afraid to think the word. All of us. Everywhere . . .

These excerpts are not untypical of the sophomoric and jejune philosophizing which fills page after page, chapter after chapter, of an extraordinarily immature and undisciplined book. The pity of it is not that Mr. Jones is unlikely to profit either intellectually or artistically from the reception of a novel which should never have been published in this form; it is that countless other yokels in midland America (it is difficult to conceive of such ignorant and stumbling work being produced by Southerners, with their sensitivity to the language, or by writers from either coast, with their quick sophistication) will now be inspired to imitate Mr. Jones, in the effort to achieve by sheer doggedness and nagging ambition that which can never be produced in our culture by the uneducated and the untrained: a work of art.

Darrow and the Law

by Graham Hughes

CLARENCE DARROW is quickly passing into the realm of legend. His niche is prepared in the shrine for tousled knights. Already half petrified in his crumpled suit he stands in our imagination, for ever fulminating against the oppressors, for ever radiating warmth and love for the downtrodden.

But now, in place of the usual orisons, we are offered, under the editorship of Mr. Weinberg, a section of the web of the great word-spinner himself. This book is a collection of Darrow's summations in some of his most famous cases, and if it is more likely to deflate than enhance the legend, this is all to the good.

Attorney for the Damned: Extracts from the speeches of Clarence Darrow, Edited by Arthur Weinberg (Simon and Schuster; $6.50).

Half a century ago, with all the tension and passion of the circumstance bounded by a narrow courtroom, Darrow's impact in these speeches must have been tremendous. Today, congealed in 500 pages of cold, cold print, they quickly cloy the appetite. All the faults are sadly spotlit and the emotional impact has largely to be guessed.

Most oratory does not take kindly to embalming between book covers. With Darrow the effect is almost fatal. For he had no faculty for connected exposition. His speeches meander through recurring digressions, always promising to make the thundering point but always straying into the purple passage, so that the point is never made or is made much later and much more weakly than we had been led to expect. When he has an argument he exaggerates it to the point of absurdity and drown it in sticky sentiment. All this comes out in his defense of Leopold and Loeb, or Babe and Dick as he persists in calling them. His plea in that case amounted to a crude assertion of total human irresponsibility for crime, a thoughtless fixation of all blame on heredity and environment.

Inviting our sympathy for Leopold he tells us that: "At 17, at 16, at 18, while other boys were playing baseball or working on the farm, or doing odd jobs, he was reading Nietzsche," and later, still harping on Nietzsche: "It is hardly fair to hang a 19 year old boy for the philosophy that was taught him at the university." All this is pretty fair nonsense, made worse by his readiness to assert seemingly glaring contradictions when they served to feed the particular passion he was tearing at the moment. So in the same case he says at one point, "Every man's heart desires killing." But a little later he tells us, "The thing that keeps one from killing is the emotion one has against it." There is of course no real contradiction here, but a proper statement of the position needs a far subtler exposition than Darrow had the inclination or perhaps the ability to give.

THE STRENGTH and weakness of the man are well shown in his famous defense of the Oshkosh Woodworkers in 1898, which is featured in this book. In his note to Darrow's speech in this case Mr. Weinberg suggests that the summation "not only presented a history of the workers' grievance against the Paine Lumber Company but it is also a sociological treatise in simple and direct words." One can only conclude that Mr. Weinberg has a very naïve idea of a sociological treatise. The summation is in fact no more than a glorious, free swinging massacre of the prosecution attorneys, the employers in general and Mr. Paine in particular. They are left at the end flayed and dismembered and one wonders what they could possibly have done but crawl into a corner and never show their faces again. It makes the best reading in the book. It is magnificent abuse, superb vituperation and we can rejoice that an advocate could be found with the courage and the speech to turn and rend the battening rich in this joyful way. But it is absurd to talk, as Mr. Weinberg does, of the remarkable clarity of the argument.

In most of these summations there is nothing to be found of argument addressed to the issue of legal guilt. When Darrow does turn to a legal theme, as he does in the Sweet case in his discus-

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sion of the law of self-defense, his treatment seems confused and probably, as far as one can understand him, inaccurate. The only example of his cross-examination is his famous battle with William Jennings Bryan in the Scopes evolution case and here Darrow's questioning seems dogged, dull and often ridiculous.

The picture which does emerge from this compilation is of a man of very limited talent but of tremendous power and impact within his limitation. Darrow could do one thing supremely well. If twelve simple men were captured for him in a box (one simple judge would do as well) and made to listen to him for a day or so, he would move them to pity and anger as surely few others have been able to do. He was a relic of the forum, without the intellect, the clarity or the beauty of speech of Cicero, but with all the heat, hate and syrup of Lloyd George.

His merit is that his inclination was to use his remarkable talent for the defense of causes and people whom we now think of as being in the right. And it would be uncharitable to forget that those whom Darrow defended were for the most part those who were in desperate need of his peculiar brand of talent. It is still uplifting to recreate the emotions of the day and applaud the way he stood his ground and kicked back savagely at the entrenched alliance of capitalism and law-enforcement.

But we should also reflect that Darrow's ability is not necessarily a happy one in a community of just law and good administration. He is remembered because he persuaded juries to ignore bad laws and to rebel against harsh prosecutors. His genius is one which could be employed more dubiously. In his speech in his own defense, when he was charged with attempting to bribe jurors, he comes close to inviting the jury to aquit him on the ground that the other side had probably done worse things. Throughout all his pleading runs the hint of the theme that the law should be ignored. And the impassioned subverter of the law, though we honor him when he fights against what we now condemn as injustice, is always liable to be harnessed into evil.

Mr. Weinberg's compilation, though it makes awfully dull reading, is perhaps to be welcomed as furnishing an anthology which may allow a more realistic picture of Darrow's stature to emerge. It must be said, however, that it could have been much better done. Mr. Weinberg is a Darrowphile of the most unreflecting kind. A serious introduction would have been infinitely preferable to the thin gush we are given, and much fuller notes ought to have been appended to the extracts themselves. Mr. Weinberg gives us a little but it is always not enough. Again it might have been a good idea to have cut down a little on Darrow's convolutions and to have included extracts from the speeches of the opposing attorneys. One is almost moved to sorrow for that unfortunate body of men who, in Mr. Weinberg's presentation, seem to have fallen so ineluctably before Darrow's scythe. Perhaps at least some of them had something worth saying and listening to.

MUSIC

Yankee Doodling at the Met

THE METROPOLITAN OPERA'S world premiere of Samuel Barber's *Vanessa* promised to be the musical event of the season, and my own disappointment with it may have stemmed in part from having expected too much. The work suffers from the weak libretto of Gian-Carlo Menotti, and suffered at its premiere from a seedy performance.

But the fatal weakness is in the score itself. For Barber has repressed his own stylistic individuality and instead favored an imitation of Menotti's musical mannerisms. There are surely few composers who could sustain a borrowed style as efficiently as Barber does here. But, efficient or not, his piece has a spurious ring to it.

Critics up and down the East coast conveyed the impression that the piece was a huge success. They praised Mr. Barber for having done so well on his first operatic venture; they praised him for daring to introduce old-fashioned corn into his score; they praised Miss Eleanor Steber for so gallantly undertaking the title role on such short notice; they praised everybody they could think of for being an American, and they praised Mr. Rudolph Bing for at last getting up enough nerve to exhibit a new American work. Yet running through all of the reviews there is a thread of dissatisfaction—a suggestion that ,aside from the high spots, the work perhaps lacks profile, or authority, or dramatic intensity. While I agree with these criticisms, I think it ought to be emphasized that the high-spots are not numerous, and that in the main, the piece's only real distinction is technical: the orchestration is always good, the balance is always right, etc. But we are all so used to technical perfection that mere virtuosity is no longer an adequate mask for poverty of materials and design.

DURING the past few years, Barber has become a versatile composer with wit, brilliance and imagination. He seemed an ideal composer for a Metropolitan opera because his strong identification with musical tradition equipped him to provide music that would have appealed to the Metropolitan's conservative clientele. In addition, his ability to create sumptuous, elegant sonorities and his superb mastery of the problems of form should have lead automatically to a work of transcendental excellence. To reduce him to a statistic—to say that his piece is merely the 20th American work to be heard at the Metropolitan, and then to go on, as Howard Taubman did, to claim that the piece is "the best American opera" ever produced at that theatre, is to miss the point of Barber's career. It is also, I think, to miss the point that American music, far from being a team-type product, is a highly dissident area of creative work, in which some very good composers—and surely Barber is one of them—are able to face the world without the support of parochialism. Barber can afford to write a bad piece, and *Vanessa* happens to be it.

To compare in any way Barber's *Vanessa* with the Met's earlier American presentations is to ignore the fact that most of these works were grotesquely inappropriate for performance in a respectable opera house. Since the beginning, the Met's managers have been weak

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in the ability to select new works for the repertory, and Mr. Bing's two adventures into the modern field show that he, like his predecessors, is a poor judge of new writing. Five years ago he chose the Stravinsky-Auden-Kallman *Rake's Progress*—a delightful work if you like it, but one with only a coterie appeal. *Vanessa* may prove to have more appeal than Stravinsky's opera. The apparent enthusiasm of the press will justify repeating the work several times this season, and the fact that the piece is being done in Salzburg next summer will give the management some reason to repeat it next year. After that, it will disappear, because a tiresome work cannot survive on the basis of good reviews alone.

THE BEST THING that can be said of Mr. Menotti's libretto is that it is about rich folk instead of poor ones, with the result that the characters enjoy better clothing and better-appointed rooms than usual. With fancy costumes and Cecil Beaton sets, the spectacle is a lot prettier than standard Menotti. The characters, however, are all cretins, brainless wonders left over from 19th Century Italian and French opera. It has always struck me that Menotti makes his characters—especially his women—more foolish than is absolutely necessary. Perhaps it is because he tries so consistently to plumb the psychological depths of their empty heads. He is forever giving them modern sex problems and big ideas that somehow never manage to come clear.

I deliberately put off studying the libretto until after the performance, in order to see how well the piece came off if you had to witness it without knowing in advance what was supposed to be happening. Being primarily a sitting-down piece, it didn't come off at all.

Menotti apparently means to suggest an Oedipal situation, since what action there is hinges on the marriage of an Older Woman to the son of her dead lover. In the course of the opera, an unmarried party gets pregnant and a lot of unpleasant things happen. But they do not happen before your eyes—they happen between the acts, or they happen off stage. *On* stage, the principals sit around (in three acts out of four) *discussing* the action which is said to have taken place. Whiling away the weary hours, I entertained two irreverent thoughts: one was that Menotti and Barber ought to throw out everything but the third act and write a new opera in which the events described in the piece were, instead, shown. The other was that, given the preposterous situation and such characters as the Cad, the Rosy-breasted Pushover, the Older Woman and a granny straight out of *Cold Comfort Farm,* they ought to throw out the whole opera and use the raw materials for a farce.

GALLANT or not for learning the role in such short order Steber gave an execrable performance, and her diction was so dreadful that I wasn't able to tell her English from the French phrases that were introduced into the text. Out of an almost-all-American cast, the only person whose diction was true was the Swedish tenor, Nicolai Gedda. Gedda sang like an angel all evening, and he was the only performer who approached his ungrateful role with the attention for detail that ought to be required of every singer at the Met. Better singing would surely have helped to distract the listener from the tedious business on stage.

A smart impressario, Mr. Bing will get credit for having the good sense to introduce a controversial new American work at the Metropolitan; and in a couple of years, everybody will commend his good sense in dropping the piece. According to the program, however, it is not the Met, but rather the Francis Goelet Foundation which provided the wherewithal for this production. The Foundation was surely acting in everybody's best interests by providing the funds. But should they have been given to the Metropolitan? The New York City Center, for instance, has played host to several turkeys, and could have afforded to risk the Barber. But the Met will use the imminent collapse of *Vanessa* as an excuse for ignoring all major modern works, American and European, for many years to come.

By waving the American flag and insisting that *Vanessa* has to be tolerated because it is an American work, the supporters of the piece will inevitably draw attention to the fact that there are so few stage-worthy American operas. If one starts asking why American operas are so consistently poor, he must remember that most American composers don't have money and have to work for a living. This means working fairly rigid time-limitations. It is natural that, under the circumstances, they aim to fill their commitments—and, right now, this means that a good composer is usually up to his ears writing chamber music, songs, ballets, orchestra pieces or whatever it is that he is asked to write. Only two kinds of composers can afford to write operas: those who are so bad that nobody wants their stuff anyway, and those few who—like Barber—are so well-off, one way or another, that they can afford to take the chance. Most composers have plenty to do without taking this risk; and if the American output of decent operas is small, it is because the best talents have so little incentive to enter the field. That a major American composer has written and produced such a boring opera is a catastrophe for operatic composition in this country at this time.

ROBERT EVETT

Pursuit of Truth

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THEATRE

Tennessee Off Broadway

EVER since his superb *A Streetcar Named Desire* I have grown less and less fond of the plays of Tennessee Williams in a sort of geometric progression that resulted in leaving *A Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* and not even attending

Garden District, by Tennessee Williams (York).

Orpheus Descending. However, with *Garden District*, a double bill appearing at the tiny York Playhouse, it's nice to see that Mr. Williams has something powerful to offer once again.

The curtain-raiser, *Something Unspoken* is a short, telling dialogue between a rich, power-driven, ignorant snob of a New Orleans widow, nicely played by Eleanor Phelps, and her genteel, browbeaten secretary-companion, beautifully handled by Hortense Alden, who is probably the most exciting actress to appear on the stage this season. It's a dandy little one-act piece, demonstrating nicely Mr. Williams' understanding of the Southern gentlewoman, but it's short and slight and very easily forgotten after the tremendous impact of the second play of the evening.

Suddenly Last Summer is the heavy artillery of *Garden District*. Since every other critic who has tried to describe the play in any detail has fallen flat, I shall try to tell you just enough—but not too much—about what goes on.

VIOLET VENABLE is a wealthy old widow whose whole life has been wrapped up in her son, Sebastian. Sebastian, as Mrs. Venable tells it, was a paragon of all virtues—chaste, a lover of beauty, a devoted son, and a great poet, whose literary output amounted to one beautiful, beautiful poem for each summer he spent in smart European watering places with his mother. But Sebastian is dead. It happened last summer when, with Mrs. Venable laid up with a slight stroke, Sebastian took his impoverished young cousin Catherine abroad as his travelling companion. Because Sebastian's death occurred under circumstances that were hardly poetic, filial, beautiful or chaste, it is important to Mrs. Venable to maintain the silence of the only witness to this melancholy event—Catherine.

So far Mrs. Venable has managed very nicely. Because of the horrendous fashion in which Sebastian died, Catherine has been sufficiently unnerved so that Mrs. Venable has been able to keep her in a series of private mental institutions. But now Mrs. Venable, attempting an oblique bribe to a gifted young doctor, would like Catherine stilled even more effectively by means of a frontal lobotomy.

Catherine is brought to Sebastian's garden in the company of her foolish mother, her venal younger brother and a mental attendant. The doctor injects her with a truth drug and there, before Mrs. Venable, she tells the whole gruesome story of Sebastian, his life and his death.

I can give you ten good reasons for passing up *Garden District:*

1. It is an evening of unrelenting horror.
2. Neither offering is a play in any sense of the word.
3. There are just six amusing lines all evening long.
4. Most of the people involved are woefully unpleasant and decidedly from the wrong side of Queer Street.
5. The dialogue often tends to be arty, abstruse and highfalutin.
6. If you stop to think about *Suddenly Last Summer* it all becomes unbelievable.
7. There's just something *about* boys named Sebastian, anyhow.
8. The theatre is not easily accessible.
9. Seats (there are only 299 of them) are difficult and costly to obtain.
10. A distressingly large percentage of those seats are occupied by unescorted young men who protest sibillantly that Tennessee Williams is really writing about the norm.

But both pieces, while far from perfect as plays, are vintage Williams, exquisitely directed and performed.

Hortense Alden who, in a coquettish red wig, plays the vicious Violet Venable, brings to the role a terrifying mixture of Medea and Mrs. Phelps. She has a voice that is equal parts velvet and sandpaper and she is able to remind me of Elisabeth Bergner, Eugenie Leontovich, Luise Rainer, Judith Evelyn, Beatrice Straight and Miriam Hopkins while being absolutely original. In both plays and in two vastly different roles she is electric.

Anne Meachum, as the bedeviled Catherine, overcomes the obstacles of seeming taller than any girl in New York and of having an accent that could spring from any place *except* New Orleans (I speculated on Scotland twice; Czechoslovakia once), by turning in a spellbinding performance of a role so taxing that one false move could have made it ludicrous. Robert Lansing is perfect as the doctor and everyone else is just as good. The same can be said for the settings, the costumes, the lighting and the music.

PATRICK DENNIS

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Notes on Contributors

HARVEY SWADOS is the author of two novels, the newer of which—*On the Line* — appeared last fall. GRAHAM HUGHES is on the faculty of the Yale Law School.

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ART

Seurat's Lonely Crowd

MODERN PAINTING has more fathers than Shirley Temple used to have in those old movies of an orphan girl adopted by the city room of the Chicago *News* or the entire membership of Lindy's restaurant. Cezanne, Van Gogh, Gauguin, Lautrec are the core and you can expand paternity indefinitely from there. Even the late Monet, so long disowned by an Oedipal generation, has lately enjoyed his recognition scene and cries of "Father!"

If anyone has been slighted in the continuous performance paternity suits of modern painting, surely it has been Georges-Pierre Seurat, the inventor of pointillism, the science of painting with little dots instead of brush strokes and letting the eye make its own mixture of the pure tones actually put down on canvas. The slight to Seurat seems not to have been intentional so much as the product of circumstances. He worked only 10 years, dying in 1891 at the age of 31. He produced only seven important paintings, each a masterwork of his method. The seven works are scattered through France, Holland, England and America. No institution has two and nobody has been anxious to lend the one he had. Thanks to the presence in Chicago of "Sunday Afternoon on the Island of La Grand Jatte," the Art Institute of Chicago has at last put together a major exhibition of Seurat's work. The show will be in Chicago through March 7 and at the Museum of Modern Art from March 24 to May 11. If you're interested in Seurat you'd better catch the show, because it is extremely unlikely that anything remotely resembling it will ever appear again. The Grand Jatte itself, by the terms of the original gift, can leave Chicago only once; when it gets back from this trip, it's to be to stay.

Even with only seven important pictures to get and with Daniel Catton Rich, the Chicago proprietor of Seurat's masterpiece, doing the asking, the exhibition has managed to get only four. Missing are the "Bathers," Seurat's first major effort, the "Parade," that mysterious evocation of Hindu music and magic in Paris cafe concert, and the "Three Models," the absence of which is felt most keenly.

Some feeling exists that Seurat himself was disappointed with the "Models"; certainly his fellow pointillist, Signac, was. At any rate Seurat made a second, smaller version and that's in the Chicago show. The rest of the exhibition is made up of early student drawings, some landscapes, mostly of beach scenes and mostly without people, and the large number of individual sketches, completed oil studies and figure drawings that accompanied the creation of each of the masterworks.

THE MAIN ATTRACTION, of course, is the Grand Jatte, which, with its preparatory works, occupies the main gallery. As it is intended to do, the room offers what amounts to a view of the artist at work. The sensation, as you compare charcoal sketches of the cast of characters with their finished incarnations and the striking view of the unpeopled scene itself with the cast on stage, is that of the moment after the stage manager cries, "Places please!" and the actors—here living statues in more ways than one—assume their positions to create something that simply did not exist as the mere sum of the parts.

For the achievement of Seurat, Chicago makes clear, actually has little to do with dots. Only Signac, and to some extent Pissarro, were able to make them work. Our own Maurice Prendergast used a vaguely similar technique. The case can be made that Seurat's attempt to make an honest woman of Impressionism and his conviction that science was the royal road to art were both attitudes that have persisted. But the dots, based on science and therefore universally applicable, were never applied at all by anyone other than the painter's two associates. Far from being a scientific key to the nature of the visual, they are a highly personal means to the creation of an intensely poetic vision.

There are about 50 people and a half dozen animals in the Grand Jatte. They include a husband and wife strolling, a mother and child, a pair of sisters or girl friends, brother officers of some kind, walking arm in arm, children at play, a rowing crew, even a pair of lovers. Yet no one in the painting is really related to anyone else. Everyone exists in a private world, a kind of dream.

A few years ago, David Riesman looked at contemporary bourgeois society and called it The Lonely Crowd. Seurat was painting the lonely crowd seventy years earlier. The little dots form a kind of invisible wall between the viewer and the figures of the painting. The small wall exists between the figures themselves.

We have seen this strange loneliness before. Giorgione, who also died young, painted it. The "Tempest" poses the soldier and the mother on opposite sides of a perspective into which we almost fall. The two figures are related compositionally yet unrelated. Who are they? Why are they here? In Giorgione the conclusion is withheld. It is in Seurat, too.

We shall see it again, this loneliness. Schlemmer's Bauhaus dummies are used to similar ends, though the means, of course, are much more obvious. In our own time Balthus, the French Pole, operating pretty much alone in modern painting, achieves the same thing with his intense and dream like scenes of violence and perverted sexuality, in which the sharp edges of the material are somehow softened and blurred in the painting.

Seurat wasn't a scientist at all. He was an alchemist. He found, for himself, a secret formula that actually worked, and, as Riesman has shown, it is relevant still.

FRANK GETLEIN

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MOVIES

The Playing Fields of Thailand

FOR ABOUT half the picture, the hero of *The Bridge on the River Kwai* is a British Colonel (Alec Guiness) whose depth of courage and sense of duty is at once touching, magnificent, and comic. Part of the success of *The Bridge* is that its courageous hero is shown from all angles, in all kinds of mirrors. He is strong, stubborn, fallible, maniacal, silly, and wise; and in the end he is pathetic, noble, and foolish.

The Bridge on the River Kwai (Columbia).

It is as the picture progresses that you become increasingly aware of the complexity—the pathos, the foolishness, the nobility—of the Colonel's actions. At the beginning, when he and his men have been captured in Thailand by the Japanese he seems merely conscientious. But when he does not submit to the brutality and degradation heaped upon him by the Japanese commander (Sessue Hayakawa), when finally he *wins* and forces the commander to accept the British officers as officers, then the force and depth of his character begin to appear. He takes over the building of the bridge and the direction of his men; the bridge becomes his Moby Dick.

That the bridge will finally be a strategic link in the Japanese railroad system from Bangkok to Rangoon does not, cannot, concern him. He is obsessed, first, with constructing a monument to British ingenuity and determination; then with keeping his men well-disciplined and spirited; and finally with remaining a model officer.

From the first stirring scene in which the British troops are led into the Japanese camp whistling an old marching song, until the scenes where the Colonel has the bridge halfway across the Kwai, the film moves swiftly. When another line of action is introduced and we are removed from the drama of the prison camp, the picture begins to lose pace. The second line of action has to do with the adventures of an American (William Holden) who, after escaping from the prison camp on the Kwai, winds up at a lush R&R camp on Ceylon.

In recounting his stay on Ceylon a bucketful of simple-minded pleasantries and heavy-handed ironies gets sloshed around; as you may know, sloshed irony is particularly unsavory. When, eventually, the American is shanghaied into returning to the prison camp with a commando unit whose mission is to blow up the bridge, he howls and balks. Now had he not balked he would hardly have been credible; and yet the *style* of his balking seems finally false to me, as though at bottom it were a kind of comic posture to make him seem a regular guy. He remains for me only the idea of a person.

When, in the end, the bridge is wired to be blown up, the British Colonel discovers the wire, and, maniacally, attempts to prevent the explosion. The result of his intervention is death for almost everyone involved; the bridge is destroyed only when the Colonel's wounded body falls across the dynamite switch. The Colonel, then, does not appear to have actually chosen to blow up his bridge, nor does he live to see it destroyed. And thus he is robbed of that final agony and awakening that might have made of him a tragic figure. He does, of course, have an awakening: "What have I done?" he finally asks. But what kind of question is that? *What must I do now?*—that is what the tragic hero asks, that is the painful question. He must *do* something. To have the hero fall across a dynamite switch *because* he is wounded permits the final destruction to arise not out of the agony of choice but out of mere physical circumstance. What had begun as a drama of character ends unsatisfactorily with some misty melodramatic statement about Chance and the Ironies of Life.

AND YET despite the thinness of the final gesture, *The Bridge* remains an engrossing and stirring movie. Amazingly, it allows an American to feel patriotic about the British, and that is because it is not, thank God, patriotic about patriotism. Rather it represents the limitations of moral and national passion as well as its glories, and consequently makes patriotism, courage, and pride human possibilities.

PHILIP ROTH

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Correspondence

(Continued from page 3)

two years in the clutches of Murray State College, Kentucky (one can hardly escape from there), and two at Eastern Illinois University (wealthy, but "intellectually . . . as barren as the face of the moon").

In the process, Mr. Stevenson revealed much more about Mr. Stevenson than he did about teacher education. But because the faithful readers of the *New Republic* (I am one) may not all be able to detect this basic fact, it is necessary for someone to answer.

IN ORDER to make my motives perfectly obvious (something Mr. Stevenson was not quite candid enough to do, I am afraid), I should state that I am a graduate of Eastern and spent ten years as director of public relations there. But please don't stop reading yet. I left Eastern partly because I was tired of the "mist of gentle hypocrisy" Mr. Stevenson refers to with some accuracy. I was responsible for some of that mist myself, as are many educational PR men who misconstrue their function. Two years ago I became editor of the *Phi Delta Kappan*, a professional journal for — yes — educationists. You can go now, if you insist on believing Vance Packard and Arthur Bestor.

We must dispose quickly of the grub by Mr. Stevenson, his dubious facts, homemade statistics and preposterous generalizations, in order to consider some essential issues in teacher education, which he somehow managed to miss almost entirely.

A delegation from Murray State has just left with me concrete data refuting some 13 statements and inferences contained in the Stevenson tract. Three examples will suffice. Says Stevenson: "Last year Murray State graduated about 700 teachers . . ." The number was 250. Says Stevenson: ". . . it dawned upon me that this salary [$4,200] was for 11 months' work rather than the usual nine." His contract clearly provided for ten months' employment at $350 per month (later changed to $360). Says Mr. Stevenson: "[teachers college students are] taught by the demoralized and the incompetent of the academic world. . . ." His letter of resignation at Murray says, "It is with many regrets that I sever my connections with you and the many friends and associates I have met . . . I have been happy here [with] so excellent a faculty . . . and would not have considered [but for a salary increase]. . . ."

A delegation from Eastern was able to do much the same thing for Mr. Stevenson's allegations about that institution. The North Central Association, incidentally, rates Eastern's faculty in the top five percent among the nation's teachers colleges.

How can we seriously consider the sensationalized generalizations of a person who treats easily-obtained facts so cavalierly, who was so inept in his reading of a contract, and who was hypocritical, afraid, or blasé when he wrote that resignation?

MUCH of the Stevenson polemic deals with the poor intellectual quality and moral culpability of teachers college students. These are important matters, for teachers colleges provide nearly one-half of America's teachers.

Eastern Illinois University is fairly representative of teachers colleges generally in the intellectual quality of its freshmen, as measured by the widely used American Council on Education Psychological Examination. It shows the Eastern median consistently close to the national teachers college norm (not far below, as Stevenson implies), and the wide upper range of ability is encouraging. But the national median for teachers college students is significantly lower than the median for liberal arts and professional college students (though higher than for junior college students).

A complex of facts account for this, chief of which is the statutory requirement in most states that state-supported colleges admit all graduates of accredited high schools. It would not be a matter of serious concern if we could be certain that incompetents do not obtain teaching credentials. Unfortunately, we cannot.

Eastern's dean has a reputation for toughness in this matter. At the end of the fall, 1957, quarter, he dropped 79 upperclassmen (from a total of some 1,400) for the academic deficiency. The number climbs at the end of the winter and spring quarters, for by then freshmen also become eligible for academic dismissal. Only about one-fourth of those who start at Eastern get degrees at Eastern, and academic failure is an important factor in this astonishing attrition. In a study I did among transfers from Eastern, I found that grades they obtained elsewhere were more often than not higher than those received at Eastern. Even so, nearly 30 percent of the graduating group in 1953 (the only year for which I have complete data) were below the national college median when they took the American Council on Education test as freshmen, and a few were below the tenth percentile.

The ACE is by no means infallible, and intellectual ability is only one factor in teaching success. The fact remains, however, that teachers generally come from homes rather low in the cultural and economic scale—they are seeking "upward mobility." While this has little to do with native ability, it has a lot to do with unfamiliarity with upper-middle-class language and ideas, which concern Mr. Stevenson perhaps more than they should.

How can the situation be improved? Mr. Stevenson would, we presume, flush teachers colleges down the drain. This will be difficult to do, however, and not very effective. School superintendents, even those with liberal arts backgrounds, tell us they prefer beginning teachers from teachers colleges, because these beginners generally have had more classroom experience and know the techniques which enable them to make a good start. Liberal arts graduates who wind up in teaching aren't necessarily intellectual balls of fire either.

THERE are several practical steps that can be taken to improve the quality of our teachers. I shall discuss here just one: The teaching profession must insist, with lay help, on higher standards of admission to teaching curricula. This will hurt for awhile, particularly in a period of teacher shortage. But ultimately it will do more than any other single thing to insure that we have teachers who are not merely "keeping school." Professional salaries for teachers and broadened support for education generally are potential concomitants.

As early as 1911, doctors of medicine, as a result of the long-since-enshrined Flexner report, began insisting on a reduction in the number of medical

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schools and a general hiking of admission standards. This is the principal reason for the high esteem in which the medical profession is held today. Education.

Interestingly enough, the above-mentioned step would not necessarily require a reduction in the high number of teachers colleges. It would mean a ruthless elimination of a large number of education curricula in liberal arts schools (more than 40 in Illinois, compared with the seven state-supported schools of education). Many liberal arts schools got into the teacher-preparation business "because of the teacher shortage." In some cases, their inadequacies of staff and facilities make the state-supported teachers colleges seem dreams of opulence.

It would be inconsiderate to inquire how Mr. Stevenson reconciles his preoccupation with teachers college student cribbing with his own dishonest reporting of fact, especially in view of his failure ever to report an instance of cheating to his superiors at Eastern or Murray. An English professor, he is undoubtedly familiar with the fictional Tom Jones' initiation to cribbing at Rugby some years before American teachers colleges were invented. If not, he can broaden his provincial outlook by reading the recently published *Changing Values in College*, by Philip Jacob. Says Jacob, "Students everywhere value the traditional code of moral virtues, but do not feel personally bound to unvarying conformity to the code, especially when a lapse is socially sanctioned. For instance, systematic academic cheating is the custom at many major institutions."

We hope that in the future the *New Republic* will use less of this kind of irresponsible, self-aggrandizing criticism, for it will do education no good. All of us are inclined at times to confuse the times with a place; and we project our own inadequacies upon our colleagues or upon institutions. The times call for clear-sightedness. We like the kind of criticism Walter Lippmann made in the current issue of *Look*:

"There will have to be great changes in our educational system, in our political habits, in our self-indulgent notion of what we feel we must spend privately as compared with what we spend publicly—in our sense of values, in what we esteem and admire as success, in what we wish to honor and reward." Among other things, we must value education and reward good teaching.

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CONGRATULATIONS on printing David Stevenson's wise and witty exposé of the two "teacher" colleges. However, let us face up to the obvious conclusion There is no reason for the existence of "teacher" colleges, colleges of "education," or for that matter, any "education" course on a college level.

What is so frightening is that these professional sellers of methodology and mediocrity actually believe they are performing a useful service. I have taught in four Universities and have yet to meet a capable education major who has anything but contempt for the courses he is forced to take if he wishes to teach.

CHARLES SHAPIRO
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► *Inflating the Inflection*

SIRS:

IN my article on James Gould Cozzens (*NR*, January 20, 1958) there occurred one of those typographical errors which, because it seems to make sense, creates more mischief than an obvious misprint. On page 15, col. 3, the phrase, "nuances of inflation" should read "nuances of inflection."

IRVING HOWE

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